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Rethinking Gender, Citizenship, and War: Female Enemy Aliens in Australia during World War I

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Abstract (202 words):

Enemy aliens were undesirable migrants in Australia during World War I, right? Yet enemy alien women who sought naturalisation were largely successful. Using the concept of 'desire', this article uses quantitative and qualitative material from women's naturalisation applications to consider why women applied and subsequent state decision-making. The narratives of applicants and administrators reflect wider negotiations over different types of citizenship, where women could challenge their very labelling as enemy aliens, or employ highly gendered notions of vulnerability and respectability. Particular groups were treated favourably, revealing practices which challenge existing historiography about how migration and citizenship laws worked throughout the British empire, especially concerning race and denaturalised women. This is part of a wider need to reassess the relationship between migration law and practice, especially the role of gender and the use of executive privilege. While important to recognise the overlapping push for a 'global color line' in creating the system which developed within the British empire, it was less a legal system and more of a constant negotiation between different actors, based on laws that were often imprecise. In this case they gave space for enemy alien women to circumvent the legislative restrictions on their naturalisation, despite the politics of war.

Biography:

Rachel Bright is a Senior Lecturer in Imperial and Global History at Keele University. She earned her PhD from King's College, London before securing a post-doctoral fellowship at the University of East Anglia, and lecturing at the London School of Economics and Goldsmith's College, London. She is currently researching the creation of a migration system within South Africa and Australia, and how this connects to modern global systems of migration control. Her book, *Chinese Labour in South Africa, 1902-10: Race, Violence, and Global Spectacle* (Palgrave-Macmillan Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series, 2013), explored why Chinese indentured labour was imported into South Africa at the height of 'yellow' and 'black' perils within settler societies. Her numerous articles include one for a special edition on Gender and Empire in the *Journal of World History*, and a critique of the British World concept with Andrew Dilley in *The Historical Journal*. She has twice been elected to the Committee of the Social History Society, where she also co-convenes their Deviance: Inclusion and Exclusion strand.

Introduction

Examining naturalisation applications from female enemy aliens during World War I in Australia has several attractions. Australia has long been recognised as shaping the formation of the modern global system of migration control, and World War I was an especially important moment.ⁱⁱ The relatively small number of female applications makes it possible to analyse statistical data alongside the qualitative data within application files, allowing a micro- and macro-analysis. Also, because the naturalisation process was designed for men, female applicants occupied a legally liminal space, opening considerable space for negotiation. This helps us as scholars better understand the interplay between law and practice, and the interplay of bureaucrats and applicants in decision-making.

This article utilises a dataset based on all digitised National Archives of Australia (NAA) applications and paper copies in Canberra from females between 1 August 1914 and 30 November 1918.ⁱⁱⁱ This dataset of women has uncovered many surprising details of how the system worked in practice, challenging existing scholarship. Most notably, over 64% of enemy alien women successfully applied for naturalisation during the war. Scholars unanimously depict a transition from Germans being desirable migrants in Australia to, at the onset of war, very quickly being subject to 'ethnic cleansing'. While this article in no way tries to minimise the punitive legal, social, and economic measures implemented against enemy aliens in Australia at the time, reassessment is needed if we are to understand this high number.^{iv} While the prejudicial treatment towards German-born residents, even if naturalised, is well documented, much of this scholarship has been gender-blind. Only recent work by Zoë Denness has looked at the ways internment and racial prejudice affected female enemy aliens in Britain specifically.^v In Australia, perhaps no other national historiography has devoted so much space to analysing the gendered dimensions of nationhood during World War I as Australia, but enemy aliens are largely absent from such work.^{vi} The omissions naturally reflect an assumption, both at the time and in subsequent historiography, that men made up the bulk of those interned, and those who were naturalised. This assumption is true but deserves to be more critically explored in terms of gender. Men undoubtedly suffered the most visible signs of citizenship inequality not just because they were enemy aliens but also because they were men. In contrast, as this article will show, German, Austrian and Hungarian women faced discrimination because of their enemy alien status but could also

benefit significantly from patriarchal attitudes towards women. Evidence here also suggests that racism towards Germans, as historians currently understand it, was not always as significant a factor as would be expected.^{vii}

This article is a case study of the negotiation of desire during the heightened rhetoric of World War One, Conceptions of desirability, the 'enemy', and access to citizenship, are highly gendered. As explained by Anne-Marie Fortier, the question of desirability is crucial if we wish to understand how citizenship inclusion and exclusion works in practice.^{viii} While scholars often focus on the intention of migration policy to exclude undesirables, this concept of desirability helps us recognise that people seeking citizenship, and whether they are accepted, is bound up together in a process, a negotiation. It recognises that the way these things work in practice depends on each individual's engagement with the process (both applicants and administrators), their desire to be included, or to include. Such a negotiation is perhaps most important within the system which developed within the British empire, based on a vague British legal tradition.^{ix} Examining the specific negotiations over naturalisation reveals important elements of the process which can often be lost when considering broader migration laws or public attitudes. It also helps unite two disparate aspects of Migration Studies: migration policy and the migrant experience.^x

In writing about citizenship access in terms of 'desire', we can recognise the highly emotive and subjective ways in which citizenship works.^{xi} I use Linda Bosniak's formulation here, that citizenship needs to be thought of as several different things: a legal status, a system of rights and duties, and a form of group identity, as well the myriad ways it can operate as a personal identification.^{xii} Applications for naturalisation concerned legal citizenship, but the entire process embodied wider understandings of what citizenship meant. Race, class, religion, and highly gendered notions of social citizenship were especially important in this case study.^{xiii} While the primary focus here is on gender, special note is made of intersections of race, age, religion, and class. Child migrants also occupied a legislative liminal space and similar research could be undertaken into their situation; while several of the examples used in this article feature migrants who arrived in Australia as children, they deserve more sustained attention than is possible here.

In a special issue about 'desirability', this article is the only one specifically looking at a group scholars have assumed were undesirable. but were in practice often treated favourably. As Table 1 shows, the female enemy alien approval rate (64.3%) was almost equal to that for the overall approval rate for women during the war (65.4%). This is a very significant finding, and understanding it is at the core of this article.

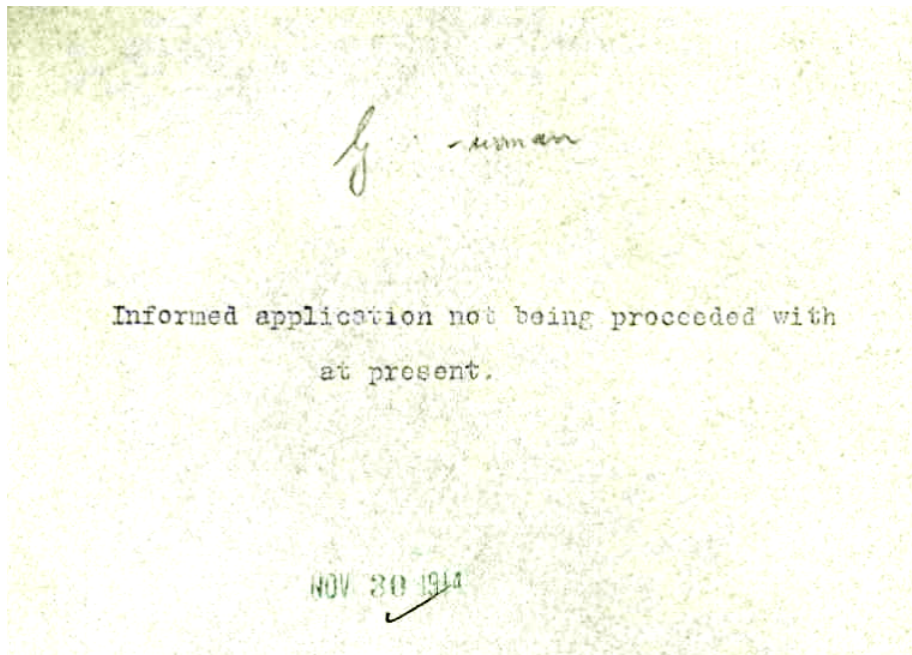
Exceptional Approval

Officially, from 1 October 1914, certificates of naturalisation were not granted to 'enemy aliens' (identified as Germans, Austrians, or Turks), 'except in some special cases'.^{xiv} These 'enemy aliens' were told that their applications would not be processed at all, unless they were over 60 years old.^{xv} However, exceptions could be made by the Executive, made up of the government ministers in the Cabinet. These powers were laid out in the Australian Naturalisation Act of 1903, which also declared that the Governor-General 'may, with or without assigning any reason, in his discretion grant or withhold a certificate of naturalization, as he thinks most conducive to the public good.'^{xvi} Decisions about 'public good' were initially left to bureaucrats, with inconsistent oversight from ministers, partly thanks to a high turnover.^{xvii} Despite the wording of the law, the governor-general was not involved, except to formally sign documents. Atlee Hunt was undoubtedly the most important administrator as the most senior bureaucrat: he was head of the Department of External Affairs (DEA) until the Department was re-organised in 1917 and called the Department of Home & Territories (DHT), although he continued to oversee naturalisation cases. From 1916, the minister in charge of the DEA had to personally approve 'exceptional' cases involving enemy aliens (a change implemented because of negative publicity that German men were too easily being naturalised), and in 1917, the entire Cabinet had to jointly decide such cases, although even then, applications had to be identified as exceptional by bureaucrats and presented as such, usually in written memoranda.

With very few exceptions, Hunt decided cases. When ministers directly oversaw applications, his advice was normally followed. Hunt was an Australian-born and educated lawyer. Overseeing migration and naturalisation matters was a small part of his department, which handled all imperial and foreign policy matters.^{xviii} He seems to have adopted a somewhat

conservative attitude towards the implementation of migration and naturalisation law. When confronted with a specific question about when to administer the language test to white passengers, for instance, he said that this should only be applied if there was 'some specific reason... known to [the] officer why that course should be adopted' (although he did tell border officials to always be suspicious of Chinese people's paperwork).^{xix} He believed that the government should largely not deprive people of access to migration or naturalisation opportunities unless the law specified that this was necessary. This basic approach to his job affected the entire approach of both departments throughout the war.

Image 1: from NAA: A1, 1914/16774, Friederike Caroline Marie Luise Remien.



This image shows what existing scholarship would expect: 'G-woman. Informed application not being proceeded with at present', dated 30 November 1914.^{xx} Her application was not approved because she was German, in line with the wartime policy. Clearly, however, it was not just her nationality which was considered worthy of notation; her gender was also worth specifying, as shown by the pencilled note of a DEA administrator.^{xxi}

Table 1: Overall annual statistics for female applicants

| Year | Total number of all applicants | Already naturalised | Enemy Aliens (Germany & Austria) | Approved enemy aliens | Rejected enemy aliens (later approved) | Unknown/incomplete enemy aliens | Percentage (%) approved enemy aliens |
|------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| From August 1914 | 175 | 48 | 86 | 54 | 25 (4) | 8 | 62.8 |
| 1915 | 171 | 28 | 99 | 70 | 25 (9) | 4 | 70.7 |
| 1916 | 180 | 48 | 82 | 54 | 26 (6) | 2 | 65.9 |
| 1917 | 94 | 18 | 37 | 18 | 16 (7) | 3 | 48.6 |
| 1918 | 43 | 7 | 15 | 11 | 4 (3) | 0 | 73.3 |
| TOTAL | 663 | 149 | 319 | 207 | 96 (29) | 17 | 64.3 |

Women during the war made up an estimated 4-5% of all applicants.^{xxii} As can be seen in Table 1, out of the 319 applications from female enemy aliens, approval was approximately 64.3%, almost identical to the overall approval rate for women. It also compares very favourably with the low 18.8% approval rating for Russian applicants, the second largest group of applicants after Germans (See Table 2).

Unless stated otherwise, the tables exclude women who had naturalisation files because they applied but were actually 'already naturalised'. This was a significant number at the start of the war, as people were anxious to clarify their legal status (often they were wives or children of naturalised men). The fact that so many applied demonstrates how few women were aware of the laws around naturalisation or had perhaps not cared before about their specific legal status.^{xxiii} The confusion was exacerbated by the fact that anyone granted naturalisation before January 1904, when Australia's first naturalisation act was implemented, only had naturalisation in the specific state of Australia where they had lived, and each of those states had their own laws about how naturalisation applied to wives and children. During the war, a small number of women applied to have naturalisation expanded from a specific state to Federal naturalisation (meaning they could live anywhere in Australia), and so were (and are here) treated as fresh applications and have been included.^{xxiv}

Despite the apparent ban on enemy alien applications, enemy alien women were still able to apply because of recent migration and naturalisation laws. These were designed to accommodate Britain's desire to avoid banning specific racial groups. The most famous example of such settler colonial restrictions was the Natal Language Test (1897).^{xxv} At the same 1897 Colonial Conference where it was promoted as a legislative model of migration control, the New South Wales Prime Minister George Reid asked about a different approach, one less examined by legal historians. He thought 'power should be given to the Governor in Council at any time to exclude any person or class of person... an executive power, which would be exercised with discretion'.^{xxvi} While Joseph Chamberlain showed reluctance at the time, subsequent colonial migration and naturalisation laws usually contained clauses about executive privilege so that settler colonies could exclude racially without having to be explicit. Deliberately vague legislation like this meant that Greater Britain could simultaneously promote unity on migration matters, what Rieko Karatani has called the 'common code',^{xxvii} while excluding whomever they pleased in practice.^{xxviii} This code, of course, operated differently in each colony, precisely because the 'code' that developed was developed to allow discrimination. Each colony also had their own legal precedent and their own naturalisation laws and constitutions, which further complicated matters. So, while important to recognise the overlapping push for a 'global color line' in settler societies like Australia,^{xxix} in practice we need to understand the system which developed within the British empire as less a shared legal system and more of a constant negotiation between different actors, based on laws that were often intentionally (and occasionally unintentionally) imprecise. While these laws were designed to exclude Asians, in this case they gave space for enemy alien women to circumvent the legislative restrictions on their naturalisation.

In practice in Australia, women needed to make a case to be considered 'exceptional' and administrators and the Cabinet had sweeping powers to grant or withhold naturalisation. 'Public good' was a phrase so open to interpretation that it was a particularly malleable tool.^{xxx} In the application files, we can see the cases presented by women and their advocates as to why they were applying and why they were desirable, the Police Reports and comments written on applications by federal bureaucrats, the memoranda written by junior bureaucrats to summarise enemy alien applications for the head of Department and minister, and later, occasionally additional memoranda written for the entire Cabinet (often in the form of lists of

'exceptional' candidates).^{xxxii} How the narratives of each application, or groups of applicants, were edited and presented reflects this wider negotiation over desirability and citizenship.

As part of this process, officials first had to determine who was actually an 'enemy alien', something not always easy in practice [see Table 2]. The original 1904 form simply asked for the place of birth and assumed nationality from that information. An updated 1917 form sought to fix the problem by asking for current nationality, place of birth, and nationalities of each parent, (partly also reflecting racial ideas about nationality as hereditary, something discussed in the Race section below). The near-universal rule globally was that a married woman took on the nationality of her husband automatically upon marriage.^{xxxiii} The form did not include specific space for women to note this, however. Image 2 shows how many women attempted to explain their own nationhood on the forms.

Image 2: from NAA: A1, 1918/8704, Ellen Mary Kent Loubet.

the case may be.
5. French, Italian,
or as the case
may be.

5. My nationality is^s *French (by marriage)*

The nationality of my father was^s *Australian*

The nationality of my mother prior to her marriage was^s *English*

6. I arrived in Australia from *widow of French subject.*

As a general rule, officials allowed women to be identified as whichever would avoid being classified as an enemy alien: for example, a German woman married to a Swedish man but divorced was considered Swedish and therefore not an enemy alien, even though the laws were unclear about the status of divorced women.^{xxxiii} This seems to have reflected Hunt's own conservative ideas of his department's role; approval was the norm, and officials were not suspicious of applicants unless given a reason to be. No applicant seems to have ever been accused of lying about their name, for instance, although their country of origin could lead to argument. This was especially true for rare nationalities or where borders were disputed: A woman born in Brazil to a German father and an English mother was treated as German, not Brazilian, and so deferred as an enemy alien.^{xxxiv} There was a lengthy negotiation with one applicant who was insistent that being from Schleswig-Holstein did not make her German, but Danish, an argument she eventually won and which benefitted later applicants from the area.^{xxxv} People from Poland experienced similar difficulties, whether to be counted as German or Russian or something else, but no consistent approach ever emerged.^{xxxvi} This

highlights one of the most important factors in the process: there was no formal appeals process but women who disputed initial rulings about nationality or other matters often had success eventually. In Table 1, this has been documented by indicating the number of those initially rejected but were later approved. The numbers might have been higher but, because there was no formal process, most women did not challenge initial rejections.

Table 2: National Origins of Female Applicants Annually

| | All applications | Approved applications | Approval (%) |
|---|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Total (excluding already naturalised women) | 514 | 336 | 65.4 |
| Austria | 13 | 6 | 46.2 |
| Belgium | 2 | 2 | 100 |
| Brazil | 1 | 1 | 100 |
| Chili | 1 | 1 | 100 |
| China | 11 | 6 | 54.5 |
| Denmark | 24 | 21 | 87.5 |
| Ecuador | 1 | 1 | 100 |
| France | 16 | 16 | 100 |
| Germany | 305 | 201 | 65.9 |
| Greece | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hungary | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Italy | 19 | 14 | 73.7 |
| Japan | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Latvia | 1 | 1 | 100 |
| Mexico | 1 | 1 | 100 |
| Netherlands | 6 | 5 | 83.3 |
| Norway | 13 | 10 | 76.9 |
| Russia | 32 | 6 | 18.8 |
| Serbia | 1 | 1 | 100 |
| Sweden | 17 | 15 | 88.2 |
| Switzerland | 15 | 11 | 73.3 |
| Syria | 7 | 1 | 14.3 |

| | | | |
|-----|----|----|------|
| USA | 19 | 16 | 84.2 |
|-----|----|----|------|

Table 2 indicates the existing nationality of applications at the time of application. Unless stated otherwise, this lists the nationality which administrators used in final decision-making, although this could be open to debate. Many women directly challenged their labelling as an enemy alien, often drawing on disputes over geography, ethnicity, or other considerations. Elsa Bolsdon emphasised that she was German ‘of Danish Parentage’, as did Johanna Stehbens.^{xxxvii} Ceska Rubinstein went to great efforts to emphasise that she was only technically an Austrian Pole, even including a newspaper cutting of a speech by Asquith explaining the bad treatment of Prussia towards Polish people within Germany (underlining in red the bits she thought most relevant to her own case).^{xxxviii}

For those identified as enemy aliens at the start of the war (German, Hungarian, and Austrian in Table 2), certain groups were sympathetically singled out for special consideration by ministers: ‘British or Australian women’ who had married an enemy subject (referred to throughout this article as ‘denaturalised’) and people who had ‘resided nearly all his life in Australia’ and were either in the process of buying land or who wished to claim the Old Age Pension were all identified as worthy of exceptional approval. This was reduced to only married women in 1916 because allegedly naturalised ‘men’ could go to the German Consulate and take an oath of allegiance, securing their Australian pension while retaining their true ‘allegiance’.^{xxxix} The press frequently complained about the naturalisation of men, but while women could presumably do the same, they were not mentioned as objects of concern.^{xl} While regulations around naturalising any aliens tightened during the War, women continued to be treated regularly as exceptional. For instance, in 1917, military concerns of laxness in granting male applicants (considered threatening if of military age) led to the decision to consider potential exceptional cases as a group at Cabinet meetings.^{xli} In December 1917, the Prime Minister ordered that no more naturalisation be granted to any Germans for the rest of the war.^{xlii} Despite this, the continued approval of women, albeit at slower rates, demonstrates how various gender stereotypes opened up a space in which women could negotiate their desirability, and where the male administrators and government executive largely viewed them favourably.

In such a system, individual administrators' views were important: Atlee Hunt seems to have personally been sympathetic to German naturalisation. On one occasion, he argued:

'that it would be an unnecessary hardship to refuse to naturalise all Germans... If it is thought undesirable to naturalise Germans and Austrians generally... an exception might be made in favour of all who have been in the country for a substantial period, say for over 10 years and particularly women and those engaged in rural industries.'^{xliii}

The men under Hunt, although never making the decisions directly, may also have shaped the process to be especially lenient towards enemy aliens. Lancelot Foenander wrote all of the departmental memoranda for naturalisation cases; it was his role to write a one page summary of the information within applications and Police Reports, to choose what was exceptional, and to present it in writing to Hunt, who did occasionally make changes, before it was sent to ministers. While little is evident about him, Foenander's father was from Sri Lanka, part of a small Dutch burger community there, so it is possible (if speculative) that he may have been sympathetic towards migrants.^{xliiv} The man in charge of passports for a period, August Siegfried Kayser, was rarely involved in naturalisation cases, but the press certainly believed it reflected a lax attitude within the department towards naturalisation and Germans more broadly. One newspaper went so far as to describe him as 'The Melbourne Kaiser' because his parents had been German-born.^{xliiv} But such newspaper coverage was rare and focused on the threat of male enemy aliens. There was no evident public pressure to be more restrictive of female applicants, and internally, ministers and administrators continued to allow great leniency for women.

Nor was such leniency limited to the Federal government in Melbourne. It is worth noting that the widespread network of police constables who wrote Police Reports were equally sympathetic in their reports about women; very few ever recommended that a woman be refused. [see Rejections below]. For instance, Maria Liebeknecht, a 60-year-old farmer, seems to have been successful in 1915 because she had arrived in Australia from Germany before she was one, and her German husband had deserted her and their eight children in 1882. The cursory Police Report merely noted that he knew 'nothing that would render it undesirable to her being Naturalized'.^{xlivi} Anna Maria Martha Weckert, a 55-year-old farmer, gained approval in 1915 after Foenander wrote a memorandum outlining her exceptional circumstances: born in South Australia to German parents, and married to a German, she was

now a widow with two sons and a daughter, living as a 'quiet inoffensive woman, not mixing much with her neighbours: is respected throughout the district and has never been heard to express German sentiments'.^{xlvii} Indeed, approval almost always depended on not associating with other Germans, even in heavily German areas in South Australia.^{xlviii} While this might have been seen as unsocial in another context, during the war it was a virtue.

That these avenues for naturalisation were gendered is especially clear in cases of married couples. The Australian-born Ida Fechner's application was approved in 1916 because her husband had lived in Australia since the age of 2 and did not speak German, nor did either associate with Germans. He was not allowed to apply, as he was of military age, but his wife was.^{xlix} Her application was largely about him; the Police Report hardly mentioned her at all. Yet naturalisation was only available to her as a woman. This was not about a specific law; it merely reflected internal bureaucratic practice built upon a gender stereotype that she was not a threat to the state, and perhaps a belief that women's nationality was fundamentally more malleable than a man's.^l

Another advantage was that administrators often chose not to scrutinise female applicants closely. After war was declared in 1914, there were still 28 enemy alien women approved without any police reports, especially remarkable given that Hunt issued an order on 1 September 1914 that all enemy aliens should have them.^{li} When the laws allowed so much personal discrimination, women's paperwork was rarely questioned.^{lii}

Older women with long residency were especially singled out as exceptional. A common theme from both applicants and administrators was that older women had worked hard all of their lives to build up Australia (a form of social citizenship) and raised families (literally a kind of womb citizenship), so should be treated well. Applications were often clear about wanting to access the state pension, and administrators thought they had earned this right. The Cabinet explicitly encouraged applications from elderly people on many occasions during the war. At the October 1914 meeting where they agreed that 'all enemy subjects over 60 years' of age may be naturalised', this was 'so that they may not be deprived of Old Age Pensions.'^{liii} Many were recently widowed, with formal citizenship suddenly necessary because of the pension or to ensure property was inherited (there were increasing financial

restrictions on enemy aliens throughout the war which made property ownership, business-running, or inheritance difficult).^{liv}

Many women only realised when widowed that they were not already British, and such cases were overwhelmingly viewed sympathetically. Take, for instance, Dorothea Elizabeth Krause, a German-born 71-year-old widow, who thought her husband was naturalised so had never applied before (a common statement). When she realised her mistake, she successfully applied in 1917. She was also, unusually, not prosecuted for failing to register as an enemy alien. The Police Report described her as 'just a simple old lady' whose children were all marrying 'Australians' and who did not attend the local German church (German churches were strongly associated with German nationalism in Australia at the time and church affiliation of applicants was often singled out in Police Reports.)^{lv}

In one case, 'extreme age' allowed a woman who was publicly pro-German to be approved. Neighbours described A. C. Spangler as 'a very patriotic German' who was reported by neighbours as saying that a local who died fighting for the British deserved it. Local police pointedly did not recommend her. However, her comments were taken as the words of a cranky old woman who threatened no one, so she was approved.^{lvi}

Women most often cited economic reasons for desiring naturalisation. Usually, they were poor and infirm, so needed a pension, but collecting an inheritance, buying or selling land, or some other financial transaction were also mentioned by women. In some cases, women applied with a desperate sense of urgency; unfortunately for them, administrators could be sympathetic, but were rarely quick, often because the cases were complex and the application forms did not provide any official space to specify why they were exceptional.^{lvii}

The German-born sisters, Teresa and Christina Schimel, were originally rejected as unexceptional cases, but were subsequently approved when their lawyers wrote again emphasising their ages (74 and 67 respectively), the physical hardship of getting to the police station each week to report as enemy aliens, their residence in Australia for 65 years, and that they were executrices of their already-naturalised brother's will.^{lviii} Being a long-term

resident and transferring land were singled out at the very start of the war for special clemency, and they ticked both boxes..^{lix}

Caroline Draghiceviz was born in Sydney in 1843 and later married a 'Dalmatian' (technically an Austrian), but he and she met in Australia, then lived in New Caledonia, where he became a 'naturalised Frenchman'. When her husband died, she returned to Australia with her children. When war broke out, debtors in New Caledonia stopped paying her, calling her an 'enemy alien'. Local courts had upheld this because her name was accidentally left off her husband's naturalisation document. In Australia, she was initially rejected as an enemy alien, but she wrote back emphasising what she saw as her specific exceptional circumstances, namely 'four grand-children on active service' and a disabled son whom she wanted to ensure had an inheritance to maintain him (and which would not drain public finances). The latter point, wanting to secure the property income to benefit her son, seems to have led Hunt to view her as an exceptional case. She was approved by the Cabinet in 1918.^{lx}

In contrast, women facing unemployment because of their status as enemy aliens (usually because of general prejudice or the weekly reporting to Police) were treated unsympathetically. This sort of financial hardship, or prejudice from neighbours, was not considered 'exceptional' unless the person was old or infirm, like the Schimel sisters.^{lxi}

Really wealthy women could also find approval difficult. Indeed, many people in Australia's government were concerned about a supposed German plot to take over Australia economically, and laws were passed to exclude Germans from many industries.^{lxii} This particularly affected women with living enemy alien husbands. For instance, the Australian-born 33-year-old Elizabeth Leonhard applied in 1915, as her husband was German.^{lxiii} The Police Report emphasised the respectability and wealth of her father and her status as an 'Englishwoman'^{lxiv} by birth as reasons for her desirability. However, the on-going influence of her husband and her wealth clearly caused concern in the DEA. Unlike successful applicants, her husband still associated with 'friends of German nationality'. Her great wealth and having a young living husband actively involved in economic and social activity seems to have led bureaucrats and ministers to be unwilling to make an exception in her favour.^{lxv} She had no

children and so appealing as a mother was impossible for her. She was not a poor or elderly woman, and elicited no evident sympathy, unlike more successful applicants.

A similar administrative reluctance can be seen in the case of Catrine Marie Margarethe Passow, who applied for naturalisation in 1916 at the age of 63 at the same time as her husband. He had apparently applied in Adelaide in 1885 but could find no record of it. As a German couple during the war, it was quite common for husband and wife to apply separately, partly because wives were often treated more favourably.^{lxvi} Hunt at the time, however, very quickly decided that neither were eligible, despite their age, as there was no evident hardship or extenuating circumstances, both being quite well off. In 1918, she applied again, this time as a widow and through the solicitors Homburg, Melrose & Homburg, in Adelaide.^{lxvii} Hunt asked the solicitors explicitly if there were any 'very special reasons' for her case to be presented to the executive.^{lxviii} Since there were never any clear guidelines about what 'exceptional' meant, being able to afford a solicitor was a definite advantage available to richer applicants such as Passow. In this case, they emphasised her age, length of continuous residence, and economic contribution to the creation of South Australia:

We cannot conceive of a case where a woman is more entitled in her old age to the ordinary [sic] rights of a citizen in a country, to which she has not only devoted the best part of her life, but also has given her hard and continuous work which might fairly be described as arduous pioneer services under hardships which she can justly point to with pride. It may not be known that both Mr. and Mrs. Passow were 2 of the earliest pioneers in developing the fruit growing industry... if he failed in this connection [to be naturalised] it is unjust to impose any hardship on his widow...^{lxix}

In this scenario, her husband and the state emerge as impediments to the citizenship she had already earned. It is difficult to know how effective these rather singular pleas were over her three years of campaigning. She was not presented in the usual way, as a loyal and hard-working mother of Australian children. While certainly striking, it generated little evident sympathy from officials. Perhaps more effective was when her solicitor met with the minister to discuss the case personally in Adelaide, a fact mentioned at the end of one of many letters, and which a civil servant had underlined. Less than a week after the meeting, her case was finally presented to the Executive as deserving, and she was approved within another week.^{lxx}

In the end, perhaps the most important negotiating tactic any applicant could have in a system designed to allow bureaucratic discretion was either a sad story or this kind of political contact. Augusta Frank was refused until her case was taken up by a prominent local businessman, who 'could vouch for the loyalty of the applicant', and she was subsequently approved as a 'special case'.^{lxxi} Even a constable writing a positive report could have considerable impact. Hermine Emilie Rumps was well known to local police, who described her as 'very respectable', and she was approved without the usual scrutiny.^{lxxii} Mary Atta, Australian by birth and a Syrian by marriage, was described in her Police Report favourably and she was approved, despite her technical classification as a Syrian, who were banned from applying for naturalisation [see Race section below].^{lxxiii}

Clearly economic status, religion, age, and the like were all factors, with gender expectations woven into the entire fabric of decision-making: poor elderly women were viewed with sympathy, as 'helpless', so the opposite of threatening the state. Rich women could afford greater political access but could be viewed with suspicion, especially because it was considered natural for a still-living German husband to exert influence within the marriage.

Many women successfully gained naturalisation by emphasising their position as mothers of Australian children. In Australia, it appears that a good mother made a good migrant. Police Reports did not focus on the lack of children of childless applicants, but they almost always discussed the status of children (especially male children) when there were any.^{lxxiv} The Executive approved the application from German widow Wilhelmine Lablack in 1918 partly because of the 'large family' of girls she had produced in Australia who married into local *British* families.^{lxxv}

Children were particularly important if actively serving in the war, a sort of blood sacrifice proving patriotism.^{lxxvi} This was an extreme form of 'maternal citizenship', to use Catherine Speck's term,^{lxxvii} a belief that women's primary political role was to provide children in exchange for citizenship rights.^{lxxviii} In times of war, women were expected to sacrifice those children to the wider protection of the state. Elsewhere, Susan Grayzel has explained how 'the bodily labor of reproduction' was considered *the* national contribution expected from

women in Britain and France, something which usually was linked to regulation of women's morality. Caroline Andrew has argued that female citizenship in Canada was often only considered when discussing their role as mothers, usually their 'reproductive role'.^{lxxxix} Such gendered notions of citizenship have been widely noted, although never applied to enemy aliens.

In Australia, women applying for naturalisation were considered through a similar gendered lens, what I will call here 'womb citizenship'. In Australia, women's national work was to produce children; applicants demonstrated their citizenship desire and desirability through having children and giving their children to the military. Often they had actively encouraged this and sometimes campaigned more broadly for conscription. Such sacrifice had clear attractions for the government, and became of particular concern to officials after the 1916-17 acrimony over whether Australia should impose conscription. Annie Nielsen was able to get approval in 1918 because she had a son fighting and daughter nursing in France.^{lxxx} Annie Forster had a grandson killed,^{lxxxi} while Catherine Jentsch's son was 'dangerously wounded'.^{lxxxii} Elizabeth Conrad 'has 3 sons on active service with the A.I.F., and one was recently killed in action.'^{lxxxiii} All were approved. Bertha Specht was rejected in 1916 but approved in 1920, when she added in the detail that her son had fought in the A.I.F. (the only difference between the two applications).^{lxxxiv} Being an aunt or cousin or sister of men in the A.I.F. could be considered equally noteworthy.^{lxxxv}

Children could also hinder applications. Dorothy Knonagel was a German who resided in Australia for 38 years at the time of her first application in September 1918. While deemed respectable by the Police Report, her application was rejected by the executive in 1919 because they first asked what her three sons had done during the war. Their failure to enlist was considered damning evidence against her, and she lacked compelling exceptional circumstances.^{lxxxvi}

It is also worth noting that the entire focus on children appears to have been gender-specific. While men were not the focus of this study, comparisons have been made with husbands and wives or brothers and sisters who applied at the same time. These make clear that men were almost always rejected outright, without regard to their parental status,

whereas it was a frequent question for female applicants, especially from 1916 when conscription became contentious.

What is striking is the ways this decision-making differed from existing historiography on women's morality and war. Scholarship has emphasised the ways in which existing citizens experienced a pressure to conform to gendered notions of morality and respectability.^{lxxxvii} In Australia, successful applicants were not 'respectable' in any conventional gendered sense.. Bertha Ehlert was approved by the entire Cabinet with relative ease, despite living with a man for over twenty years and having seven children with him, without ever being married. Considerable sympathy was evident from all of the men overseeing her application because of the clear longevity of the relationship and the general local belief (as reported by local police) that the man had been cruel.^{lxxxviii} While such cases were rare, administrators clearly felt sympathy for cases of desertion and even bigamy.^{lxxxix} For example, Maria Elizabeth Homburg was convicted of 'sly grog selling during the present year' but was otherwise a 'good character' and had been deserted. She was approved in 1917 (a period when rejections peaked).^{xc} In contrast, a woman who described her situation using the more neutral expression of 'living apart' was rejected.^{xci} In all of these cases, women often implicitly appealed to gendered notions of male protection, and to the wider notion that women produced children for the state, and the state protected them. In many of these cases, protection was needed from German men who, at best, had deserted and neglected partners, and in some cases were violent or had deceived the women into believing the men had married them.

Women were often quite capable of making direct appeals based on their gender as well. Henrietta Greenwald/Grunewald claimed she had not applied earlier because 'she was not aware until recently that being a woman it was necessary to apply for Naturalization' at all.^{xcii} Similarly, Ceska Rubinstein explained that 'I landed in Australia a mere girl and did not realise the important of becoming naturalized in the Country I was making my Home in, as perhaps would have appeared to a man with greater knowledge of business affairs'.^{xciii} Such appeals to men's greater civic importance and cleverness certainly did not hurt their applications.

Denaturalised women

It is worth examining in detail the special treatment of denaturalised women both because they were frequently singled out as exceptional by the administration and because the realities of the practice contradict current scholarship on the topic.^{xciv} In practice, British-born women married to enemy aliens made up almost half of all female enemy alien applications, with an 85% approval rate. About half of these had husbands still alive when approved [see Table 3].

Under British law, people suffering from a 'disability' could not be naturalised; 'disability' included 'married women, infants, lunatics, and idiots'.^{xcv} Historians have generally assumed that this meant no married women could apply for naturalisation anywhere in the empire until after World War II when laws changed.^{xcvi} However, the reality of decision-making simply does not match this. During the war, many married German women were allowed to be naturalised, often while their husbands were not, such as Ida Fechner's case mentioned earlier.^{xcvii} As Table 3 shows, this number was particularly high during the war amongst denaturalised women. Over 34% of all enemy alien applications were from such denaturalised women. Of these 110 applicants, 93 were approved, a success rate of 84.5%. Widowed denaturalised women were almost never refused, while deserted women were almost always treated as if widowed. Women with living husbands and divorced women faced slightly less consistency in treatment but were still usually approved.

Table 3: Re-naturalisation Applications from Enemy Alien Nations

| Year | Total Female Enemy Aliens | Total all re-naturalisation applications | Re-nat. enemy aliens | Rejected enemy aliens | Approved enemy aliens | Unknown/incomplete enemy aliens | Married (deserted) enemy aliens | Widow enemy aliens | Divorced enemy aliens |
|------------------|---------------------------|--|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| From August 1914 | 86 | 14 | 7 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 9 | 6 | n/a |
| 1915 | 99 | 47 | 39 | 6 | 31 | 2 | 26 (6) | 12 | 1 |
| 1916 | 82 | 61 | 43 | 7 | 34 | 2 | 19 (5) | 23 | 0 |
| 1917 | 37 | 15 | 12 | 1 | 11 | 0 | 2 (1) | 10 | 0 |
| 1918 | 15 | 18 | 9 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 4 (1) | 5 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 319 | 155 | 110 | 17 | 93 | 5 | 60 (13) | 56 | 1 |

Esther Pipgras is a good example of how such cases were negotiated. She applied in 1915 because she had 'entered into a contract for the purchase of property'.^{xcviii} Australian banks frequently required people to be naturalised before they could take out a substantial loan or mortgage, even before the war. She was 40 years old at the time of application, having been born in Victoria, and the ways she presented her desirability as a subject emphasised her economic and racial commitment to Australia's development. In addition to the obvious investment potential, it is worth remembering that one advantage for the state was that naturalised subjects could be more reliably called upon to pay taxes, as well as death duties. She was also 'native born', with 'close on one hundred native born, blood relatives in Victoria'.^{xcix} The positive Police Report also emphasised her religion: she was married to her husband by the local Church of England minister, rather than having any connections to German churches, and neither she nor her husband associated with Germans. While none of this was enough to gain approval for her German husband, she was 'a respectable married woman' and readily approved.^c

Another example is Clara Greenland (changed legally from Groenlund in 1915), who was naturalised in 1916 at the age of 56.^{ci} She was British-born, having moved to Australia in 1894, and her Police Report emphasised that her husband had died only 7 months after the marriage.^{cii} Hunt tellingly described this as 'technical German nationality' only and was clearly sympathetic.^{ciii} While all naturalisation applicants were required to publicly advertise their application at their own expense in newspapers, Hunt agreed to break this rule for her: 'Mrs Greenland has expressed herself as very reluctant to admit her German nationality, and this Department has promised that no publicity will be given to the case.'^{civ} The discretion to break the rules was Hunt's right, but this was an exceptional decision even within the department, reflecting the belief that nationality through marriage was only technical, a matter of law, but not a matter of real (e.g. social or racial) nationality.

A similar attitude is evident in the case of Bridget Cissy Rombach, British-born but married to a German. He had been naturalised in Britain before they had moved to Australia. The question was whether his naturalisation applied in Australia or whether they were enemy aliens. In order to clarify their legal status, she was naturalised as she wanted to transfer a

house she owned herself. Hunt once again explained: 'Mrs. Rombach is only German, if German at all, as a result of a pure technicality.'^{cv} As such, she was naturalised, and his status remained unresolved.

The issue of how easily British-born women (but not their enemy alien husbands) could re-acquire nationality reflected racialised notions of British nationhood, a form of social citizenship.^{cvi} It also related to a wider question of sovereignty and citizenship. Most scholars have assumed that British naturalisation law applied in Australia. David Dutton, for instance, has described the situation in this way: 'British law specified that a married woman's nationality was always that of her husband... The [Australian] Naturalization Bill 1903 was consistent with British law on this point... the nationality of married women remained linked to their husbands.'^{cvi} Certainly, this was the case in colonial New South Wales, where the 1898 Naturalization Act specified that married women were the same nationality as their husband.^{cvi} But this was not specifically stated in Australian law. In fact, Australian politicians made a conscious decision not to include the bar on 'disability' as Britain had. Kim Rubenstein has suggested this reflected how the all-male delegates were largely indifferent to the place of women, rather than a specific agenda, but it still reflects an important way in which the law differed from Britain.^{cix} This mattered because Australian judges often determined that British law did not have precedent over Australian law.^{cx}

There was also a broader legal debate about whether the courts needed to consider 'the intentions of the framers of the *Constitution* in applying the *Constitution*', a matter still of considerable debate within Australia.^{cx} This latter point was evident in a ruling from Attorney General Isaac A. Isaacs in 1906, when he determined that marriage itself could not take away a woman's 'British nationality' in Australia.^{cxii} He drew not just on British traditions of subjecthood but also on the intention of Australian constitution writers who had not included a clause about women and nationality: if they had wanted to adopt Britain's law, they would have mentioned it in the Australian constitution.^{cxiii} However, he argued that this did not apply in New South Wales, as they had specifically considered this point and had copied Britain's law in their 1898 Naturalisation Act.^{cxiv} In this interpretation, women outside of New South Wales could never be denaturalised at all. In other Opinions, R. R. Janan, Secretary in the Attorney General's Department, judged that married women in Australia

(including in New South Wales) were 'eligible' to be re-naturalised, reconfirmed by C. Hughes, Attorney-General in a 1910 Opinion.^{cxv}

These rulings led administrators to let British-born women successfully achieve 're-naturalisation' without much difficulty. The practice only changed after the Colonial Office and the British Prime Minister separately informed the Australian government that they wanted Australia to do as they did and only accept renaturalisation applications from widows.^{cxvi} After some debate, Hugh Mahon, Department minister at the time, accepted in the interests of the common code.^{cxvii}

In practice, though, just like all of the other rules, this was not always done. Naturalisation was still possible but the burden on women to prove their case exceptional became greater.^{cxviii} Mary Ratke found approval relatively easy in 1918, despite being married to an interned German and of German parents (although she was born in South Australia). Rather than treating her with suspicion, she was treated as a widow and approved in 1918 because she had two sons fighting at the Front on the British side.^{cxix} Womb citizenship remained effective.

This did not mean that Australian officials considered women's rights regarding citizenship differently from contemporaries elsewhere. They still held to the general view at the time that married women's nationality was naturally tied to their husbands, exactly as laid out in Helen Irving's book.^{cxx} Even while making frequent exceptions, Hunt complained to a prominent legal expert that 'the [Australian 1903] Act permits a thing which I hold ought not to be allowed, that is, that husband and wife may be different nationalities'.^{cxxi} So while he personally pushed for ministers to consider cases sympathetically, he only ever viewed such cases as exceptional, as did the ministers above him. Consequently, the policy was never advertised or acknowledged publicly, so most women who were eligible did not know they were. It is no wonder that all of this led to a practice so shrouded in secrecy that scholars have missed that it happened at all. In 1914 and 1918, when women were campaigning internationally about the plight of denaturalised women,^{cxxii} it is notable that the Australian government never explained what was actually happening. In keeping with their policy of avoiding public declarations about the status of married women, the government largely

refused to meet or discuss the matter with campaigners and *never* told those campaigners that women were likely to get naturalisation if they just applied.^{cxviii}

Despite this, denaturalised women were constantly (but secretly) singled out for sympathetic treatment through discretionary powers, while the basic principle that legally women should have the same naturalisation as their husband's went unchallenged. This highlights why it is so important for scholars to research the differences between law and practice and between legal and social forms of citizenship. After all, they were singled out precisely because of the idea that their status as 'enemy aliens' was 'technical' citizenship only. They were really British, in a larger racial and cultural sense of citizenship.

1917 Full Cabinet Approval

In 1917, the number of applications and approvals slowed with the introduction of Cabinet oversight. Applicants had to make a case for their exceptionalness to the entire Cabinet, and had to have a good reason for not applying earlier.^{cxviii} Approval was significantly harder to get, especially under Billy Hughes' much more anti-German administration and many women were rejected that would have been easily approved the year before.^{cxviii}

Approval remained possible, however. Take, for instance, the Cabinet meeting on 13 September 1917 when there were 32 recommended applications, of which 17 were women.^{cxviii} While the specific deliberations of the Cabinet meeting are not always clear, the information chosen by administrators and their own internal correspondence does give significant clues as to what they considered important factors. Five of the 17 women put forward by the minister at the time, Paddy Glynn, were denaturalised widows and were successful. Bertha Ehlert was described as 'destitute' and with a son at the Front. Johanna Schweizer and Ann Paulmann had grandsons fighting.^{cxviii} All three were successful.

If one did not have children, financial contributions could also demonstrate loyalty: Marie Breken contributed significantly to the War Loan: the Cabinet approved her.^{cxviii} Emily von Stranz was approved because she was British-born and only German through marriage, while

Amelia Wagner and Cornelia Rosenthal were unsuccessful on this occasion because there was no clear hardship demonstrated, and they were German-born.^{cxxix} Two further women, Mathilde Isernhagen and Gretchen Eckermann (by far the youngest applicant at 25), migrated when children but were rejected by the Cabinet as lacking evident hardship.^{cxxx}

Other rejections included Wilhellmina Hilcke, who should not have been on the list at all as she was born in Brazil. However, bureaucrats chose to treat her as a German, because her father was German, despite where she was born and despite having an English mother. She was rejected despite the fact that her brother had been approved for naturalisation by the same Cabinet in May.^{cxxxi} Indeed, such a comparison between siblings is highly revealing:^{cxxxii} in this case, both were applauded for their lack of German connections, largely due to the death of their father when children. It was unusual, though, for a man of his age (48) to be successful when the woman was not. In this case, his longstanding employment by the Crown Registry Office, with excellent references, and involvement in a local Melbourne cricket club, were taken as demonstrations of his patriotism, overt public displays of Britishness she could not match in her career as a seamstress.^{cxxxiii} Conversely, his role as a father of soon-to-be military-age sons was not considered an important factor, as it would have been if she was a mother. These are classic examples of what Michele Langfield has called the 'differential treatment' of gender in migration matters, one which reflected wider differential access to public spaces in which to express social citizenship.^{cxxxiv}

This seems to have been a high point for rejections though. Amelia Wagner applied again in 1918 and was readily approved by the Cabinet without any additional evidence.^{cxxxv} Indeed, as Table 1 showed, approvals increased again in 1918, reflecting that leniency remained the norm, especially for poor, elderly, or de-naturalised women.

Rejections

The majority of female enemy aliens were approved, and the rest were usually only 'not proceeded with' for the duration of the war. Many were later able to successfully apply. Rarely were specific criticisms directed at the applicants themselves; negative Police Reports

were rare. it is worth considering the reasons for deferment, even if only temporarily, and especially for those rejected outright.

The most common reason for rejection was that the woman was married and the husband still alive.^{cxxxvi} Emma Engler was not allowed to be re-naturalised because her husband was initially interned and, once released, was considered 'hostile' and 'excitable'. The fact that her parents were both German, even though she was born in Australia, also counted against her.^{cxxxvii} Violet Risius was 'deferred' because her husband had been released from being interned. The file explicitly stated that she would have been granted naturalisation if he was still interned as they would have treated her as deserted, e.g. like a widow.^{cxxxviii} This idea that women's cultural, moral, and even national status mirrored the status of a husband was typical, as was the idea that separation from male enemy alien influence allowed her to have a more amenable status for citizenship inclusion. Despite female suffrage in Australia, this reflected a conservative administrative view that men inherently, as heads of households, directed political opinion within it, and that married woman lacked political agency of their own. As Helen Irving has argued, such conservative views underpinned the entire legal system, which linked women's nationality to their husband's.^{cxxxix} What is perhaps most remarkable was that, if separated from a husband, officials seem to have so readily believed that the political influence was removed, and that women could be safely naturalised.

In exceptionally rare cases, the women themselves attracted suspicion. May Lothringer, although Australia-born and described as 'respectable and in affluent circumstances', was rejected because she and her husband had 'a reputation of being opponents of the Allies'. The 'ladies residing in the vicinity' described her having 'pro-German sympathies',^{cxl} Similarly, the Australian-born Ida Schreiterer was rejected because Germans used to meet at her husband's and her house at night, 'signalling', and because her daughters had been heard expressing 'sympathy with the German empire in the present war'.^{cxli}

Such cases usually relied upon local gossip, which Police would collect when putting together their reports. Rarely, rumour and suspicion came from the Military itself. Janina Wiktorya Berenda Czaykowska (a technical Austrian who identified as Polish), wanted to be

naturalised as it was the only way she could secure a job offer at a public library in Sydney.

She was rejected because:

'authorities strongly suspect her, though they have no evidence such as might be taken into Court and they cannot tell me of any particular facts, but there is no doubt they have strong and perfectly bona fide suspicion that the lady is playing the double game. She is attractive and can make herself extremely agreeable and useful, hence the excellent reports that one gets regarding her but all the same they cannot rid themselves of their very deep-rooted suspicion.'

The fact that the woman had worked as a journalist, and hence travelled widely, was further held in evidence against her.^{cxlii} I have found no other case of a female applicant considered an active threat to the state during the war. This is remarkable, not just because of the rarity, but because she actually seemed to spend most of her time fundraising for Polish refugees fleeing Germans. There is a suggestion in the file that the Russian Consul briefed against her because she would not work for him, as she wanted an independent Poland, but Australian officials were not very interested in the details. The rumour, and perhaps her attractiveness, were enough to make her suspect.

Louisa Johanna Mathese, another well-educated woman with disputed nationality (this time German and French), wished to secure naturalisation so she could continue working as a German and French language tutor at the University of Melbourne and other local schools. Again, the local Military Commandant did 'not feel disposed' to recommend her. While generally respectable, the Police Report explained that she 'instructs private [male and female] pupils in her rooms' and 'appears to be a pure German and has been heard conversing with the night watchman of the building in the German language, who is of her own nationality.' The Report described her as 'cute and reserved at the building' so that nothing concrete could be established against her, but the suspicion remained.^{cxliii} Anna Melke was accused in the Police Report of being 'untruthful' and associating 'constantly' with Germans, and hence rejected.^{cxliv} Wilhelmine Hoffmann was very social with her German neighbours so she was 'deferred'.^{cxlv} There was no such negative local gossip levelled at the England-born May Stadler, but she had married her husband in 1915, which was considered suspicious in itself.^{cxlvi}

Even more rarely, 'moral' reasons were given for rejection: Marie Lauth was rejected because the Police reported both that she 'has always born a good character as an honest person' but had also 'for years kept a house of ill-fame'.^{cxlvii} From 1917, new rules were introduced requiring the ability to read and write in English,^{cxlviii} which led to further refusals. Much to the clear annoyance of officials, unlike other legislation, there was no executive discretion written into the law so most rejections in 1918 were due to this (the law was later corrected).^{cxlix} Again, rejection was not the norm. Most refusals were simply not considered exceptional or desirable enough to be approved during the war.

Race

What exactly was the place of race in this whole process? It is worth emphasising that the vast majority of women in this case study were considered 'white'. It is also worth remembering that Germans were considered desirable migrants for many decades before the war. Scholars are unanimous in depicting the sudden ending of this special status during the war, with Germans facing significant racial prejudice.^{cl} The process of women's naturalisation applications, however, paints a different picture. The anti-German feelings evident in Australia during the war were tempered within actual decision-making processes. A minority of women were 'deferred', a very few refused, but most were approved. Existing scholarship, in focusing on men, has missed the clearly gendered ways in which racial exclusion operated. The cases here suggest that wartime anti-German sentiments were simply less important than older ideas about White Australia or about gender.^{cli} Under the 1903 Naturalisation Act, anyone from Asia or Africa was automatically barred from applying for naturalisation. War did not change the fundamental racist bedrock of naturalisation policy. What this dataset shows is a self-selecting group of women who sought naturalisation, and clearly thought it was an achievable goal. The high proportion of approvals shows that they were right.

In Australia, scholarship on the War has emphasised the racial dimensions of anti-German sentiments. Kay Saunders and Roger Daniels once described the fierce 'othering' of Germans as seeming to correspond to a belief that "'disloyalty" is somehow genetically transmitted and even the apparently innocent may subscribe to dangerous Ideologies.'^{clii} More recently,

Emily Robertson quotes *The Bulletin* as describing Germans as 'The Chinaman of Europe', something she describes as reflecting a view that Germans had lost their humanity and their whiteness.^{cliii}

Yet there is nothing in this specific set of records which suggest these women were no longer perceived as desirable and white. Again, most applicants rejected were actually told they were 'deferred', presumably until a time when hostilities ceased and Germans were wanted again. There is no suggestion from administrators that they worried about the mixed race or nationality of children either; children were almost universally positive signs of a woman's desirability as a citizen. This is surprising in the context of wider popular concerns about eugenics and miscegenation, where the 'race' of mothers was often considered extremely important.^{cliv}

There are important caveats to this, however. A natural point of comparison would be with enemy aliens from the former Ottoman empire. However, these were usually identified as from Asia and therefore banned from migration or naturalisation; there were also complete bans on Turkish and Bulgarian naturalisation applications in 1914 and 1915 respectively. Whether because of a dearth of female migrants from these places or because they chose not to apply, Table 2 shows there were no female applicants from these places during the war. This makes it impossible to make a comparison of wartime treatment.^{clv}

Another caveat is that race did clearly matter in the differential treatment Australian or British-born applicants, as opposed to German, Hungarian, or Austrian-born women. Natural-born subjects were identified as authentically British because of racialised notions of nationhood and their loyalty to the nationality of their birth was rarely questioned. Women in their applications often emphasised their horror at discovering they were not considered British, and expressed a strong desire to correct this anomaly. Even in rare refusals, it was usually because of the status of a still-living husband.

The entire language used to discuss re-naturalisation emphasised such racialised notions of nationality. To take a typically-phrased memorandum, the applicant was described as 'an Australian woman married to an unnaturalized German' who 'applies for re-admission to British nationality.'^{clvi} In other words, she was already considered Australian, regardless of her

technical nationality through marriage. Even a woman married to a Syrian was able to reclaim her British nationality (Syrians were usually banned, as considered Asian), with no evident concern about miscegenation.^{clvii}

On the other hand, parental nationality was clearly important because of long-standing racial ideas of nationality, reflected in the change to the 1917 form which explicitly asked for this information [see image 2]. Even before the new form, applicants showed considerable awareness of the significance of such parental identification: Sophia Kruger described herself as 'by birth a[n] English woman, father and mother both British born'.^{clviii} Hunt emphasised his approval for one application by writing that 'The applicant is of British race', referring to her parentage.^{clix}

This whole interest in parentage reflected wider public attitudes towards citizenship: that nationality was usually about where one was born, or who one's parents were, and that changing it was somehow unnatural. One of the reasons for the liminal status of women was clearly the tension between the idea that it was natural for a woman to share a political, i.e. national, identity with her husband, and the idea that changing nationality was unnatural. The very language of naturalisation implies that being an alien at all is unnatural, a language that was certainly xenophobic, but which predated racial ideas like eugenics. Denaturalised women were considered naturally British, so easily re-incorporated.

For women born as enemy aliens, decisions often reflected competing ideas of citizenship. Race was one marker of national loyalty, but incorporation could often be achieved through displaying other types of cultural citizenship. Women could achieve this vicariously through giving birth to natural-born citizens, through practicing 'womb citizenship'. The constant emphasis on whether women attended German churches was another reflection of the ways women could demonstrate their nationality. Race, like religion, could be used as a cultural marker of true nationality, rather than a mere technical nationality which so often relied on politically changeable lines on maps and largely failed to grapple with women who married foreigners or who migrated. Such cultural signifiers could be very important in determining one's desirability.

In practice enemy alien women seem to have been allowed a racially inclusive version of subjecthood, at odds with the seemingly gender-blind analysis which currently exists about attitudes towards Germans in Australia. This was especially true when other claims to respectability were evident.^{clx} There was an inherent contradiction in this thinking, of course: women born British were basically still considered British, regardless of marriage, because it would be unnatural for them to have changed loyalty, whereas foreign-born women claiming Britishness were allowed a fluid and welcoming conceptualisation of citizenship which depended on the idea that their loyalty would naturally turn to Britain/Australia (applicants and officials used the two terms interchangeably).

Women who could elicit pity were also often treated in ways that were more about class and gender and age than race. While more research is needed, this certainly suggests that scholars need to examine more closely the complex interplay between race and gender in the formation of that 'global color line' of migration control. In this case, it might simply be that officials adopted a far more inclusive understanding of British nationhood than the general public, but even the press language was highly gendered, only specifying the threat of naturalisation from men.^{clxi} Far more important was the fact that, with so many serious matters of government, naturalisation was usually a low-level concern, even when before the whole Cabinet, and women were rarely considered important to state security.

Conclusion

The nature of executive discretion means that decision-making was (and remains) inconsistent and open to negotiation. The desirability of citizenship, and new citizens, is also subject to change, something especially evident in this case study. Women wanted naturalisation for economic reasons, patriotic motives, shame, to be able to vote, to be able to escape the regular police reporting required for enemy aliens.^{clxii} Administrators largely saw female applicants as fundamentally exceptional and usually as desirable.

Men were deemed to be 'naturally' a citizen of somewhere, a link strengthened through Military service. A Woman's nationality was much more flexible. Decision-makers seemed prepared to accept foreign-born nationality as less 'natural' and more malleable, more easily

assimilated into Australian nationhood, especially when the woman's story demonstrated 'exceptional' suffering or good citizenship (via bearing children or, more rarely, economic contributions).

This sort of decision-making fits well with the legal model developed by Ngaire Naffine, who has argued that criminal laws were designed with a typical man and woman in mind, heavily reliant on middle class ideas of respectability and gender norms, with a natural bias in favour of those who fit the model, and against those who do not.^{clxiii} This gendered understanding of law may help explain how women who matched particular gendered notions of respectability were often viewed so sympathetically.

While women often received favourable treatment, it is worth noting that this process remained a very unequal negotiation between potential applicants and administrators. It was deliberately not publicised that married women could apply for naturalisation, or that appealing decisions informally was possible. This meant that women who did apply or appealed often only did so because they were well connected to politicians, had solicitors to advise them, or were extremely poor and received charitable or church assistance. This was a system that gave some people power to negotiate inclusion into the body politic, but there were rarely any clear rules. Not all migrants had equal access to this negotiating space, or even knew there was a space where they could negotiate inclusion into the body politic.

Most enemy alien women were successful though because, to use Atlee Hunt's own phrase, why should a 'good character' be punished for 'technical German nationality'?^{clxiv} In practice, the system seemed more than eager to rescue women from such 'technical nationality', and even to ignore issues such as bigamy or race, provided the woman had the right kind of gendered respectability in other ways. Being poor but hard-working, having many children, or if wealthy, having a proven track record of investing in Australia, were all more important than 'technical nationality', demonstrating wider social conceptions of citizenship. What this meant was that almost two thirds of all female applicants, whether enemy aliens or not, were naturalised. Such research needs to be added to the growing body of scholarship, often loosely categorised as 'whiteness studies', which has identified the ways whiteness and inclusion were open to negotiation and debate.^{clxv} The application files offer a vivid insight

into the interplay between macro- and micro-histories, the lives of individual women and the individual decisions made by administrators, woven around wider issues of citizenship, war, and gender. All of this allows us to understand why enemy alien women were able to become British subjects despite their status.

It also highlights a serious gap in existing scholarship about enemy aliens. A significant new body of scholarship was undertaken during the centenary of the First World War, but this research shows how important it is to see what happened during the war through a gendered lens. We as scholars now need to ensure that the inevitable plethora of World War Two scholarship over the next few decades considers the ways in which enemy alien experiences were gendered. This article should be taken as a useful starting point for such scholarship, one which raises many questions. Did 'womb citizenship', as described here, continue to play such a prominent role in the interwar years and during WWII? To what extent were non-enemy aliens affected by such gendered considerations? And, of course, to fully understand the differential gender dynamics at work, similar analysis would need to be done on male applications.

Scholars also need to remember a point made forcefully by Helen Irving: too often, the global histories written about naturalisation have treated women as marginal, or have ignored questions of gender altogether.^{clxvi} Women were the minority of migrants. We should never think that means they were unimportant. What this article does is argue that we need to prioritise discussions of gender, alongside race, class, and age. Indeed, age was such a strong recurring theme within this dataset that there is clear scope here for further consideration. Age is currently almost invisible within the thousands of academic pieces looking at migration or citizenship. We cannot forget the little old lady who cheered on the Germans but was naturalised regardless. Given current international debates surrounding the economic contributions of migrants, we should strive to better understand the ways in which age has shaped such debates, such notions of contribution, of desirability. Australia during WWI wanted to naturalise little old ladies. Australia today would usually refuse them. This is a significant change worth studying and understanding.

More broadly, this research should also make us reflect on the important differences between law and practice. The growth of global histories of migration, and migration control, often focus on shared xenophobia, racism, and shared legal frameworks.^{clxvii} But such research can obscure the significantly different legal and political situations in the US and British empire, a distinction which is especially important when we consider the deliberate legal vagueness built into so many colonial laws. We often focus on the notion of the undesirable migrant, but as others in this special edition note, that label was always slippery and contentious. Attitudes towards migration and citizenship access are not stagnant, nor are the administrative systems which oversee decision-making. Migrants themselves are active in engaging with this process, and administrator's own views on issues like gender can also have a considerable impact. Analysing the process offers considerable insights into the many complex ways citizenship, gender, and other factors have intersected and evolved over time, allowing us to move beyond headlines and stereotypes so that we can actually understand the migrant experience.

ⁱ This work was supported by the Menzies Australia Institute, King's College, London through the Australian Bicentennial Research Fellowship, a Keele University Research Grant, and an Australia National University Visiting Research Fellowship.

ⁱⁱ The most relevant recent studies of global migration control include Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Color Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, CUP, Cambridge, 2008; John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport. Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, CUP, Cambridge, 2000; Jane Doulman and David Lee, *Every Assistance & Protection: A History of the Australian Passport*, The Federation Press, Sydney, 2008; Radhika Singha, 'The Great War and a "Proper" Passport for the Colony: Border-Crossing in British India, c.1882-1922', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 50(3), 2013, 289–315; J. Caplan and J. Torpey (eds.), *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*, PUP, Princeton, 2001; Amy Fairchild, *Science at the Borders: Immigration, Medical Inspection and the Shaping of the Modern Industrial Labour Force*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2003; Adam McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2008; S. Castles and J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, The Guilford Press, New York, 2008; Craig Robertson, *Passport in America: The History of a Document*, OUP, Oxford, 2010; K. Breckenridge and S. Szreter (eds.), *Recognition and Registration: Documenting the Person in World History*, OUP, Oxford, 2012; Alison Bashford (ed.), *Medicine at the Border: Disease, Globalization and Security, 1850 to the Present*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2014; Helen Irving, *Citizenship, Alienage, and the Modern Constitutional State: A Gendered History*, CUP, Cambridge, 2016.

ⁱⁱⁱ The figures cited are likely an underestimate. Since no specific question asked for the sex of applicants, 'female' applications have been identified by name, marital status, or other data within the files. When unclear, the applicant was omitted. It is worth noting that women who applied multiple times have only been counted once, in the year of their first application. The entire database, from 1901 to 1920, will be freely available once completed, at <http://naturalisation.online>.

^{iv} Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800*, Pearson, Harlow, 2010, p.214. See also Ian Harmstorf (ed.), *The German Experience of Australia, 1833-1938*, Australian Association of von Humboldt Fellows, Adelaide, 1988; Johann Peter Weiss, *In search of an identity: essays and ideas on Anglo-Australians, German-Australians, and others*, Peter Lang, Bern, 2000; John F. Williams, 'German Anzacs and the First World War', in Andrea Bandhauer and Maria Veber (eds.), *Migration and cultural contact: Germany and Australia*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 2009, pp.153–186; Jurgen Tampke, *The Germans in Australia*, CUP, Cambridge, 2006; Charles Meyer, *A history of Germans in Australia 1839-1945: a useful and valuable description of people*, Monash University Press, Caulfield East, Victoria, 1990; Jurgen Tampke and Colin Doxford, *Australia, willkommen: a history of the Germans in Australia*, NSW University Press, Kensington, NSW, 1990; Peter Monteath (ed.), *Germans: travellers, settlers and their descendants in South Australia*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2011; Panayi (ed.), *Germans as Minorities during the First World War: A Global Comparative Perspective*, Ashgate, Farnham, 2014; Panayi (ed.), *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America, and Australia during the Two World Wars*, Oxford, Berg, 1993; Kay Saunders and Roger Daniels (eds.), *Alien Justice: Wartime Internment in Australia and North America*, University of Queensland Press, 2000; Gerhard Fischer, *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1989. A similar narrative about Germans going from desirable to undesirable migrant status can be found in Andrew Francis, 'From "Proven Worthy Settlers" to "Lawless Hunnish Brutes": Germans in New Zealand during the Great War', in Panikos, *Germans as Minorities*, pp.289-309.

^v Zoë Denness, 'Gender and Germanophobia: The Forgotten Experiences of German Women in Britain, 1914–1919', in Panayi (ed.), *Germans*, pp.71-98.

^{vi} See overviews in Bart Ziino, 'The First World War in Australian History', *Australian Historical Studies*, 47(1), 2016, 118-134; Ziino, 'Twenty-five years at the front line: Gender and War in retrospect,' *History Australia*, 17(1), 2020, 5-16. Key work includes: Catherine Speck, 'Women's Memorials and Citizenship', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 11(23), 1996, 129-145; Joan Beaumont, 'Australian Citizenship and the Two World Wars', *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 53(2), 2007, 171-182; Beaumont, 'Whatever Happened to Patriotic Women, 1914-1918?', *Australian Historical Studies*, 31(115), 2000, 273-86; Melanie Oppenheimer, "'The Best P.M. for the Empire in War'?: Lady Helen Munro Ferguson and the Australian Red Cross Society, 1914-1920', *Australian Historical Studies*, 33(119), 2002, 108-24; Victoria Haskins, 'The girl who wanted to go to war: female patriotism and gender construction in Australia's Great War,' *History Australia*, 14(2), 2017, 169-186; Joy Damousi, 'Socialist Women and Gendered Space: The Anti-Conscription and Anti-War Campaigns of 1914-18', *Labour History*, 60 (May), 1991, 1-15; Annabel Cooper, 'Textual Territories: Gendered Cultural Politics and Australian Representations of the War of 1914-1918', *Australian Historical Studies*, 25(100), 1993, 403-21; Marilyn Lake, 'Mission Impossible: How Men Gave Birth to the Australian Nation - Nationalism, Gender and Other Seminal Acts', *Gender and History*, 4(3), 1992, 305-322; Joy Damousi and Marilyn Lake (eds.), *Gender and War, Australians at War in the Twentieth Century*, CUP, Cambridge, 1995; Jan Bassett, "Ready to Serve": Australian Women and the Great War', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, 2, 1983, 8-16; Susan R. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, Longman, London, 2002.

^{vii} See Race section below.

^{viii} Anne-Marie Fortier, 'What's the big deal? Naturalisation and the politics of desire', *Citizenship Studies*, 17(6-7), 2013, 697-711. See also Francis L. Collins, 'Desire as a theory for migration studies: Temporality, assemblage and becoming in the narratives of migrants', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(6), 2018, 964-980.

^{ix} An overview of the link between Britain's legal traditions and naturalisation law within settler colonies is in Rachel K. Bright, 'Migration, naturalisation and the 'British' World, c.1900-1945', *History of Global Arms Transfer*, 10 (2020), 27-44, at http://www.isc.meiji.ac.jp/~transfer/paper/pdf/10/02_Bright.pdf.

^x See Anne-Marie Fortier, 'Migration studies', in Peter Adey, et al (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of mobilities*, Routledge, New York, 2014, pp.84-93; Bridget Anderson, 'New directions in migration studies: towards methodological de-nationalism,' *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7(1), 2019, 1-13; Steven J. Gold and Stephanie J. Nawyn (eds.), *Routledge international handbook of migration studies*, Routledge, New York, 2019.

^{xi} Before 1948, British citizenship did not exist, although the term was used interchangeably with the correct term, subjecthood, by contemporaries. There are important differences between these terms, but for the sake of clarity, citizenship is largely used here. For a fuller discussion, see Bright, 'Migration, naturalisation'.

^{xii} Linda Bosniak, 'Citizenship Denationalized (The State of Citizenship Symposium)', *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 7(2), 2000, article 2. Psychologists have differentiated further by pointing out that group identity and individual identity may overlap, or even contradict, and are not necessarily the same thing. See Susan Condor, 'Towards a Social Psychology of Citizenship? Introduction to the Special Issue', *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 21, 2011, 193-201; Kim Rubenstein with Jacqueline Field, *Australian Citizenship Law in Context*, Lawbook Co., Sydney, 2002, 2nd ed. 2017.

^{xiii} While not analysing naturalisation records specifically, this point is made in Michele Langfield, 'Gender blind? Australian immigration policy and practice, 1901-1930', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 27(79), 2003, 143-152.

^{xiv} Until 1914, Germans were the largest migrant group into Australia after the British and had generally been considered very desirable. See Gerhard Fischer, 'Integration, "Negative Integration", Disintegration: The Destruction of the German-Australian Community during the First World War.' in Saunders and Daniels, *Alien Justice*, p.4[1-27]. More recently, Fischer has explained the restrictions, and the general narrative about the shift from desirability to undesirability, in German experience in Australia during WW1 damaged road to multiculturalism, *The Conversation*, 22 April 2015, <https://theconversation.com/german-experience-in-australia-during-ww1-damaged-road-to-multiculturalism-38594> [last accessed 16 August 2021].

^{xv} The day after war was declared, the senior bureaucrat, Atlee Hunt, asked ministers if they wished to change procedures for Germans. NAA: A1, 1921/16414, Naturalization of Enemy Subjects: Memorandum, Hunt, 5 August 1914, p.115. See also A461, A349/3/6 PART 1, Naturalisation - Main policy file, 1914-1946: excerpt from *Hansard*, Senate, 11 November 1914, Senator Gardiner, Minister of External Affairs. It is worth noting that the French, Russian, and Italian governments repeatedly asked that their male citizens not be naturalised, as this would allow them to avoid military service.

^{xvi} Naturalisation Act (1903), Section 7. The phrase is repeated in discussions about enemy aliens in 1914. See NAA: A1, 1921/16414, Naturalization of Enemy Subjects, p.84.

^{xvii} Ministers in charge of the DEA were Paddy Glynn (24 June 1913 - 17 September 1914); John Arthur (17 September 1914 - 9 December 1914); Hugh Mahon (10 December 1914 - 13 November 1916). Ministers in

charge of the DHT were Fred Bamford (14 November 1916 - 17 February 1917) and Paddy Glynn again (17 February 1917 – 3 February 1920).

^{xviii} National Archives of Australia (NAA): A1, 1903/2284, Nature of work carried on by External Affairs Department, report by report by Secretary, Atlee Hunt, 23 April 1903.

^{xix} NAA: J3116, 14, Alien Immigration – correspondence relating to arrival of SS Duke of Argyll 25 January 1902 and an inquiry from a Customs Officer as to whether the Education Test is to apply to Europeans [White Aliens]. See also MS52/822, *Atlee Hunt Papers*, National Library of Australia (*Hunt Papers*), Series 14. Colonial Office and Commonwealth of Australia Offices, London: Correspondence with R. Muirhead Collins, 1908-12: Hunt to Collins, 1 May 1912; MS52/840, Collins to Hunt, 22 August 1912; MS 52/14/846. See a contrast with South Africa’s administration in Rachel Bright, ‘A “Great Deal of Discrimination Is Necessary in Administering the Law”’: Frontier Guards and Migration Control in Early Twentieth Century South Africa’, *Journal of Migration History*, 4(1), 2018, 27-53.

^{xx} NAA: A1, 1914/16774, Friederike Caroline Marie Luise Remien.

^{xxi} Female applicants often had this notation, not just enemy aliens and not just during the war.

^{xxii} This is an estimate based on published official statistics, which often listed applicants as male or female, cross referenced with internal lists such as NAA: A1, 1914/19482. An enterprising officer in Perth decided to collect the names and addresses of all enemy aliens naturalised since July 1914 until October 1914 in the state. This listed 222 names, of which 10 were identified as women. This dataset may differ from official statistics, which did not always match each other. For example, Hunt informed the Prime Minister that 439 Germans were naturalised between the declaration of war and 13 October 1914. Elsewhere, he told the Cabinet that the number naturalised between 1 July 1914 and 30 September 1914 was 1335 Germans and 146 Austrians. Clearly both answers cannot be correct. See also NAA: A1, 1921/16414, Naturalization of Enemy Subjects, p.75; A6006, 1914/10/13, Naturalization of Alien Enemies.

^{xxiii} Take, for example, NAA: A1, 1919/15700, Henrietta Frederika McFie, a German-born widow who applied in October 1914. Her husband was a ‘Scotchman’, so she was already naturalised.

^{xxiv} An example is NAA: A1, 1916/2346, Pauline Reindel, a ‘German Pole’. Her husband was naturalised in NSW but in 1916 they were living in Victoria. She was approved because Hunt considered the situation ‘anomalous’.

^{xxv} See Rachel K. Bright, ‘Asian Migration and the British World, 1850-1914’, in K. Fedorowich and A. Thompson (eds.), *Empire, Identity and Migration in the British World*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2013, pp.128-149; Robert Huttenback, ‘The British Empire as a “White Man’s Country” – Racial Attitudes and Immigration Legislation in the Colonies of White Settlement’, *Journal of British Studies*, 13(1), 1973, 111 [108-137]; Marilyn Lake, ‘Translating Needs into Rights: The Discursive Imperative of the Australian White Man, 1901-30’, in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (eds.), *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, 2004, MUP, Manchester, p.203 [199-219].

^{xxvi} UK Parliamentary Papers (PP), Cd8596, 1897 Colonial Conference, London Proceedings, p.139.

^{xxvii} Rieko Karatani, *Defining British Citizenship: Empire, Commonwealth and Modern Britain*, Frank Cass, London, 2003, pp.70-83.

^{xxviii} Bright, ‘A “Great Deal of Discrimination”’; Bright, ‘Migration, Naturalisation’.

^{xxix} Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing*. They borrowed this term from W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903.

^{xxx} PP, Cd8596, 1897 Colonial Conference, London Proceedings, p.140. Britain also sought to define their use of ‘exceptional’ naturalisation of enemy aliens, although it too left significant scope for interpretation: ‘persons performing public services or work of utility or for other special reasons.’ Quote from NAA: A1, 1921/16414: De-code of cablegram from Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, 29 September 1914, p.98.

^{xxxi} See the discussion of the 1917 full cabinet approval below.

^{xxxii} Irving, *Citizenship*.

^{xxxiii} NAA: A1, 1914/20462, Sophie Louise Eliese Wilhelmina French: they approved her without a police report in January 1915.

^{xxxiv} NAA: A1, 1922/3058, Wilhellmina Hilcke: She was treated as a German, because her father was German; her mother was English. She was ‘not proceeded with’ in 1917 but approved in 1922. See also NAA: A1, 1916/10090, Alice Coy, an application approved without any question.

^{xxxv} See also A1, 1926/21499: D. L. Knonagel, German-born, married to a Russian, and treated as an enemy alien.

^{xxxvi} See, for instance, NAA: A1, 1915/11727, Pauline Botchen: Police Report, 3 Aug 1915, p.4. She is described as from ‘Poland in Germany’.

^{xxxvii} NAA: A1, 1916/16457, Elsa Cecil Emmalina Bolsdon, pp.4,7; A1, 1917/4623, Johanna Katrina Stehbens. See also a German-Polish example: A1, 1915/11727, Pauline Botchen; a French-German example: A1, 1916/3212, Julia Emily Tiedemann.

^{xxxviii} NAA: A1, 1916/10246, Ceska Rubinstein.

^{xxxix} NAA: A1, 1921/16414: Mahon Memorandum, undated draft, p.44; draft, 4 February 1916, p.58; final version, 5 February 1916, pp.42-3.

^{xl} Contemporary newspapers regularly referred to suspect Germans as ‘men’ or ‘he’. For instance, the government kept a clipping from the *Age*, 15 October 1914, which described how a ‘man may be accepted, on his oath, as a friend of Great Britain, while all the while he is secretly intriguing to convey information to the foe.’ Clipping in NAA: A1, 1921/16414, Naturalization of Enemy Subjects, p.104. See also excerpt from the *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland, 18 February 1916, p.35.

^{xli} See, for instance, NAA: A435, 1944/4/4347, Uniformity of naturalization throughout the Empire, 1903-1918; A367, C1145 PART 1, Naturalisation, 1916-1925; A11804, 1915/70, Naturalisation, 1914-1916; PP14/1, 4/3/531, Naturalised Women of Enemy Origin Married to Alien Enemies: Chief of the General Staff to Commandant, 5th Military District, 27 May 1918, p.3.

^{xlii} NAA: A1, 1921/16414: Secretary, Prime Minister’s Department, to Secretary, DHT, 14 December 1917, p.29.

^{xliii} NAA: A1, 1921/16414: Atlee Hunt to Cabinet, 12 October 1914, p.74. See also *Hunt Papers*, MS52/1517, Hunt to Mahon, 19 January 1916. Contrast this with his ready desire to stop allowing Turkish applications for naturalisation in NAA: A1, 1921/16414: Memorandum, Atlee Hunt, 2 November 1914, approved by Mahon on the same day. An identical Memorandum, 8 November 1915, p.61, stopped Bulgarian applications.

^{xliv} See *The Argus* (Melbourne, Victoria), 27 September 1922, p.1 Family Notices: Lancelot Terence Foenander death.

^{xlv} *The Mirror of Australia* (Sydney, NSW: 1915 - 1917), 8 January 1916, p.5.

^{xlvi} NAA: A1, 1915/10360, Maria Liebeknecht: Police Report, 27 July 1915, p.4.

^{xlvii} NAA: A1, 1915/10675, Anna Maria Weckert: DEA Memorandum, 12 July 1915.

^{xlviii} Research into German men, especially those who arrived as children, and of farmers more generally, would be valuable. Here, comparisons with male relatives have been made when possible.

^{xlix} NAA: A1, 1916/6296, Ida Beatrice Fechner: DEA Memorandum, 27 March 1916, p.3.

^l See the focus on the husband in a similarly successful application: NAA: A1, 1916/6041, Bertha Sophie Pirnbaum.

^{li} NAA: A1, 1921/16414: Hunt, Memorandum for the Chief Clerk, 1 September 1914, p.110.

^{lii} Langfield, ‘Gender Blind?’, 143.

^{liii} NAA: A6006, 1914/10/30, Naturalization of Enemy Subjects: Mahon, 30 October 1914; A1, 1921/16414, Naturalization of Enemy Subjects, p.67.

^{liv} For more on financial restrictions of enemy aliens during wartime, see footnote 16.

^{lv} NAA: A1, 1917/4159, Dorothea Elizabeth Krause. See also A659, 1943/1/2134, Louise Modra; A1, 1915/10220, Maria Rust; A1, 1916/21500, Isabella Schultze; A1, 1915/14103, Fredericka Frommholz; A1, 1915/8191, Caroline F. Reinholtz; A1, 1915/13605, Johanna E. Ernstine Franke, Police Report, p.3; A1, 1916/21400, Adele Koehncke, DEA Memorandum, 31 August 1916, p.3. Approval was explicitly linked to church affiliation. In contrast, Bertha Schofer’s Police Report considered her attendance at the ‘German church’ with her husband as a factor against her: A1, 1915/8839. See also Harmstorf, ‘God Ordered Their Estate’, in Harmstorf, *The German Experience*, pp.39-53.

^{lvi} NAA: A1, 1915/8949, A.C. Spangler. DEA Memorandum, 3 June 1915, p.2.

^{lvii} See NAA: A1, 1915/13830, P.M. Pauline Maria Elizabeth Geschte; A1, 1916/7373, Ellen Westendorf; A1, 1918/11807, Mary Miller (Schaupps); A1, 1915/7693, Margarethe Koch.

^{lviii} NAA: A1, 1916/22165, Teresa Schimel; A1, 1916/21469, Christina Schimel.

^{lix} See footnote 17. Another clear example is NAA: A1, 1916/18557, Mary Klowss.

^{lx} NAA: A11803, 1917/89/969, Caroline Draghiceviz; A1, 1918/16453, Caroline Draghiceviz.

^{lxi} NAA: A1, 1915/23704, Caroline D.H. Petersen. Contrast with her elderly mother’s approval: A1, 1915/13656, Eliese Magerethe Christine Petersen.

^{lxii} Fischer, ‘Integration’, p.10 [1-27]; Fischer, ‘Empire, Trade, Race: The War Aims of William Morris Hughes’, in *Enemy Aliens*, pp.38-57.

^{lxiii} He was rejected in 1914 despite official exemption from military service from the German Consul and being described as an excellent character by police: NAA: A1, 1914/16880, Otto Leonhard.

^{lxiv} NAA: A659, 1943/1/1176, Elizabeth Leonhard. Police Report, 16 June 1915.

^{lxv} NAA: A659, 1943/1/1176, Elizabeth Leonhard. Handwritten note from Hunt, 24 June 1915, ‘Notwithstanding police report I suggest that this stand over.’ Another handwritten note, ‘Defer’ from Mahon, 24 June 1915.

^{lxvi} NAA: A659, 1941/1/6493, C. M. M. Passow. Hunt to her, 14 October 1916; solicitor’s reply, 20 October 1916; and Hunt reply, 26 October 1916.

^{lxvii} The Homburgs were a well-connected migrant family from Germany. They included state legislators (Liberal party), justices, and an Attorney General. See, for instance, ‘Death of Mr. Justice Homburg’, *The*

- Advertiser* (SA), 25 March 1912, p.9. They supported a relative of Margaret Passow: NAA: A1, 1921/19575, Robert Friedrich Carl Passow, and acted in this wartime case: A1, 1921/3659, Louise Marie Emma Agnes Bauer.
- ^{lxxviii} NAA: A659, 1941/1/6493: Hunt, Minute, 9 January 1919. See also Homburg, Melrose, & Homburg to Hunt, 6 January 1918.
- ^{lxxix} NAA: A659, 1941/1/6493: Homburg, Melrose, & Homburg to Hunt, 6 February 1919.
- ^{lxxx} NAA: A659, 1941/1/6493: DHT Memorandum, 12 February 1919. Cabinet approved on 18 February 1919.
- ^{lxxxi} NAA: A1, 1916/15554, Augusta Wilhelmine Frank.
- ^{lxxxii} NAA: A1, 1915/17095, Hermine Emilie Rumps.
- ^{lxxxiii} NAA: A1, 1916/1933, Mary Atta.
- ^{lxxxiv} NAA: A1, 1916/2275, Johanna Wilhelmine Rosenzweig; A1, 1916/10644, Anne Hoch; A1, 1918/11228, Catherine Margaret Reimer; A1, 1915/9088, Sophia Marquison.
- ^{lxxxv} NAA: A1, 1918/9969, Wilhelmine Ernestine Henriette Lablack.
- ^{lxxxvi} The idea of sacrifice for the nation during wartime has been central to scholarly understandings of the war throughout the British empire. See, for instance, Adrian Gregory, 'Redemption through war: Religion and the languages of sacrifice' in *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018, pp.152-186.
- ^{lxxxvii} Speck, 'Women's Memorials', 129-145.
- ^{lxxxviii} Marilyn Lake, 'Feminist History as National History: Writing the Political History of Women', *Australian Historical Studies*, 27:106, 1996, 154-69:157.
- ^{lxxxix} Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France During the First World War*, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, The University of North Carolina Press, 1999, especially chapter 3: Promoting Motherhood and Regulating Women: Women's Labor and the Nation'; Caroline Andrew, 'Women as Citizens in Canada', in Pierre Boyer, Linda Cardinal, David Headon (eds.), *From Subjects to Citizens: A Hundred Years of Citizenship in Australia and Canada*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 2004, pp.95-106.
- ^{lxxx} NAA: A1, 1919/1250, Annie Marie Nielsen.
- ^{lxxxxi} NAA: A1, 1916/28849, Annie Louisa Forster.
- ^{lxxxii} NAA: A1, 1916/28500, Catherine Jentzsch.
- ^{lxxxiii} NAA: A1, 1916/27474, Elizabeth Conrad.
- ^{lxxxiv} NAA: A1, 1920/20261, Bertha (Maria Ellena) Specht. Other notable cases include NAA: A1, 1916/27430, Auguste Anna Dorothea Grossman; A1, 1916/24884, Jane Fisher Koychen; A1, 1916/23185, Susanna Lubcke; A1, 1916/7559, Sarah Wendt; A1, 1920/2958, Louisa Wilhelmina Schultz.
- ^{lxxxv} NAA: A1, 1916/7264, Henrietta Greenwald/Grunewald; A1, 1915/7819, Mabel C. von Schweda; A1, 1916/15258, Augusta Christina Mohr. Contrast Mohr's success with the failed application of another well-regarded hospital worker: A1, 1916/7964, Pauline Baldenbach, who was rejected for having no exceptional circumstances.
- ^{lxxxvi} NAA: A1, 1926/21499, Dorothy Luise Knonagel.
- ^{lxxxvii} See Grayzel; Lake, 'Feminist History'; Speck, 'Women's Memorials'.
- ^{lxxxviii} See NAA: A1, 1931/4475, Bertha Ehlert; NAA: A1, 1915/7819, Mabel C. von Schweda.
- ^{lxxxix} This will be explored further in the author's upcoming book on applications between 1901 and 1920.
- ^{xc} NAA: A1, 1916/29434, Maria Elizabeth Homburg.
- ^{xci} NAA: A1, 1916/6511, Louisa Sempf, p.3.
- ^{xcii} NAA: A1, 1916/7264, Henrietta Greenwald/Grunewald, p.16: Leon L. Cohen, Solicitor, Sydney, to DEA, 17 February 1916. Timing was important in her case because, as laid out in the DEA Memorandum, 10 March 1916, p.4: she had 'applied on the 3rd ultimo to be naturalized (Cabinet decided not to naturalize such applicants on the 8th ultimo).'
- ^{xciii} NAA: A1, 1916/10246, Ceska (NAA file misnamed Elska) Rubinstein: letter to Hunt, 31 March 1916, p.13.
- ^{xciv} The main texts on the subject are Irving, *Citizenship*; M. Baldwin, 'Subject to Empire: Married Women and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act', *The Journal of British Studies*, 40(4), 2001, 522-556; Laura Tabili, 'Outsiders in the Land of Their Birth: Exogamy, Citizenship, and Identity in War and Peace', *Journal of British Studies*, 44(4), 2005, 796-815.
- ^{xcv} Section 17 (1870): "'Disability" shall mean the status of being an infant, lunatic, idiot, or married woman'; Section 27 (1914): 'The expression "disability" means the status of being a married woman, or a minor, lunatic, or idiot'. See Irving, *Citizenship*.
- ^{xcvi} From Dutton, David, 'Women - Citizenship in Australia: A Guide to Commonwealth Government Records', <http://guides.naa.gov.au/citizenship/chapter3/women.aspx> [last accessed 27 March 2018].
- ^{xcvii} NAA: A1, 1916/6296, Ida Beatrice Fechner: DEA Memorandum, 27 March 1916, p.3.
- ^{xcviii} NAA: A659, 1943/1/2126: Pipgras to Hunt, 2 March 1915.
- ^{xcix} *Ibid*.
- ^c *Ibid*: Police Report, 17 March 1915.

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- ci NAA: A1, 1934/10232, Clara Harriet Greenland (aka Clara Harriet Groenlund).
- cii Ibid, DEA Memorandum, 12 October 1916.
- ciii Ibid, Hunt to her solicitors, Rawlinson & Hamilton, Sydney, 11 September 1916.
- civ Ibid, Hunt to Inspector-General of Police, Sydney, 26 September 1916.
- cv NAA: A1, 1916/16097, Bridget Cissy Rombach.
- cvi See Race section below.
- cvi From Dutton, 'Women'.
- cvi NAA: A1, 1904/7646, Naturalization of Married Women in NSW: Hunt to Attorney General, 17 May 1904.
- cix Rubenstein, *Australian Citizenship*, pp.37-8. The only specific reference to women in the Australian Naturalization Act of 1903 is section 9: 'A women who, not being a British subject, marries a British subject, shall in the Commonwealth be deemed to be thereby naturalized, and have the same rights powers and privileges, and be subject to the same obligations, as a person who has obtained a certificate of naturalization.'
- cx NAA: A63, A1910/7244: Isaac A Isaacs, Attorney General, Opinion: Franchise-British Woman Married to an Alien, 29 March 1906: 'The extent of the application of the Imperial Act is by no means clear'; A456, W8/13/96: Australian Naturalization of Enemy Subjects During War, Opinion of W. Harrison Moore, 1 March 1916; A435, 1944/4/4347: Attorney-General's Opinion, Eligibility of the Wives of Aliens for Naturalization, 31 May 1916.
- cxii Rubenstein, *Australian Citizenship*, pp.37-8
- cxii NAA: A63, A1910/7244: Isaacs, Opinion, 29 March 1906.
- cxiii He referenced Australia Parliamentary Debates (1903), Vol.14, p.2200.
- cxiv NAA: A63, A1910/7244: Isaacs, Opinion, 29 March 1906. The NSW law stated: A married woman shall be deemed to be a subject of the state of which her husband is for the time being a subject.'
- cxv NAA: A1, 1904/7646: Opinion from the Attorney General, 29 August 1904, pp.2-3; A63, A1910/7244: C. Hughes, Attorney-General, Opinion: Eligibility of a British Born Woman Who Has Married an Alien to Apply for a Certificate of Naturalization, 7 November 1910.
- cxvi NAA: A11803, 1917/89/248, Naturalisation of Subjects of Enemy States: Bonar Law, British Prime Minister, to Governor General, Australia, 5 December 1916.
- cxvii NAA: A2863, 1917/25, Naturalization Act No.25, 1917: handwritten note by Mahon, 18 April 1916, p.8. See also J. F. Williams, Colonial Office, to Secretary of State, Colonial Office (to be sent to Australian Gov-General), 24 February 1916.
- cxviii NAA: A435, 1944/4/4347: Attorney-General's Opinion, Eligibility of the Wives of Aliens for Naturalization, 31 May 1916; DEA Memorandum, 7 June 1916, handwritten comment from Hunt, 8 July 1916.
- cxix NAA: A1, 1918/2644, Mary Ratke.
- cxx Irving, *Citizenship*.
- cxxi *Hunt Papers*, MS52/1536, Hunt to Professor Harrison Moore, 17 March 1916.
- cxvii Irving, *Citizenship*; Baldwin, 'Subject to Empire'; Philip Girard, "'If two ride a horse, one must ride in front": Married Women's Nationality and the Law in Canada 1880–1950,' *Canadian Historical Review*, 94(1), 2013, 28-54; Tabili, 'Outsiders'; Peter Price, 'Naturalising Subjects, Creating Citizens: Naturalisation Law and the Conditioning of "Citizenship" in Canada, 1881–1914', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45(1), 2017, 1-21.
- cxviii This was despite internal discussion of the matter. See NAA: A1, 1914/20769, Imperial Naturalization Act (Rights of Women under) National Status of Australian Women married to Foreigners: Hunt to Prime Minister's Secretary, 5 August 1914, pp.27-8. See also A1, 1926/3450, Women's Societies in Australia, Naturalisation of Women: Memorandum to the Prime Minister's Department, Hunt, 4 June 1918, pp.22-23; Hunt to the International Secretary, National Council of Women of New South Wales, 14 June 1918.
- cxvii This was made even more difficult in December 1917, when the Australian Prime Minister banned naturalisation of Germans for the rest of the war, although exceptions remained. See NAA: A435, 1944/4/4347; A367, C1145 part I; A11804, 1915/70; A1, 1921/16414: Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, to Secretary, DHT, 14 December 1917, p.29.
- cxv NAA: A1, 1921/1658, Louisa Alice Heinrich; A1, 1917/8205, Cecilia Tietz; A1, 1917/14687, Josie Schultz. See also Fischer, *Enemy Aliens*, pp.38-57.
- cxv NAA: A1, 1917/14627: DHT Memorandum, 13 September 1917, and accompanying lists, pp.3-14.
- cxvii NAA: A1, 1917/12490, Ann Paulmann; A1, 1931/4475, Bertha Ehlert; A1, 1917/12847, J. F. Schweizer.
- cxviii NAA: A1, 1917/12115, Marie Breken.
- cxvix NAA: A1, 1917/13680, Emily von Stranz; A1, 1918/1922, Amelia Wagner; MT269/1, VIC/AUSTRIA/ROSENTHAL CORNELIA; B741, V/1835, Cornelia Rosenthal.
- cxv NAA: A1, 1917/15094, Mathilde Isernhagen; A1, 1917/11128, Gretchen Eckermann; MT269/1, VIC/GERMANY/ECKERMANN GRETCHEN.
- cxvi NAA: A1, 1917/7316, Frederick Symphronius Hilcke.

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- ^{cxviii} See also NAA: ST1233/1/0, N1913, The case of Max Edward Stelter, and Louisa Clara Stelter, Tasmania, adopted siblings found guilty of failing to register as enemy aliens: they did not know they were adopted, but only he was punished.
- ^{cxviiii} NAA: A1, 1922/3058, Wilhellmina Hilcke; A1, 1917/7316, Frederick Symphronius Hilcke; MT269/1, Vic/Germany/Hilckee Wilhelmina. She was later approved without difficulty in 1922, a reminder of how transient many of these concerns were.
- ^{cxviiii} Langfield, 'Gender blind?'
- ^{cxv} She was approved as an exceptional case by the Cabinet in 1918. See NAA: A1, 1918/1922, Amelia Wagner.
- ^{cxvii} See the case of Elizabeth Leonhard, footnotes 66-68.
- ^{cxviii} NAA: A1, 1921/11142, Emma Maria Martha Engler.
- ^{cxviiii} NAA: A1, 1915/13705, Violet Isabel Risius (written as Risins in NAA).
- ^{cxviiii} Irving, pp.19-21. She discusses how women's legal status as essentially the property of her husband and possessing a single legal identity with him; 'couverture' was entrenched in citizenship law internationally just as women were increasingly defined in other laws as legal entities in their own right.
- ^{cxli} NAA: A1, 1915/20706, May Lothringer: Police Report, 28 Dec 1915, p.4.
- ^{cxli} NAA: A1, 1915/3572, Ida Schreiterer: DEA Memorandum, 12 March 1915.
- ^{cxlii} NAA: A1, 1917/10767, Janina Wiktorya Berenda Czaykowska: especially the DEA rejection letter to her, p.15; Hunt to Glynn, 1 May 1917, p.16; DEA Memorandum, 16 March 1917, pp.18-29
- ^{cxliii} NAA: A1, 1915/22313, Louis[e] Johanna Mathese: R. E. Williams, Commandant, 3rd Military District, to Hunt, 8 December 1915, p.3; Police Report, 28 November 1915, pp.5-6. All of this ignores what she wrote on her application (p.9), that her father was French and mother German, and she was born in Germany. Normally, this was investigated further.
- ^{cxliv} NAA: A1, 1920/8215, Anna Wilhelmina Melke: DEA Memorandum, 17 July 1916, p.9. She was refused in 1914 and 1916. A similar claim is found in NAA: A1, 1914/15498, Auguste Hamburg.
- ^{cxlv} NAA: A1, 1915/19297, Wilhelmine Hoffmann. See also A1, 1916/31591, Helena Homburg: DEA Memorandum, 5 January 1917, p.4.
- ^{cxlvi} NAA: A1, 1916/9772, May Stadler.
- ^{cxlvii} NAA: A1, 1917/14622, Marie Lauth. She waged a separate argument with administrators about whether she was French or German, as she and her husband were from the Alsace region.
- ^{cxlviii} See Michele Langfield, 'Recruiting immigrants: The First World War and Australian Immigration', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 23(60), 1999, 55-65.
- ^{cxlix} NAA: A1, 1918/13094, V. Venera Melita; A1, 1917/15209, Leonarda Palessi.
- ^{cl} See footnote 13.
- ^{cli} The literature on White Australia is extensive. See especially Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing*; David Day, 'The "White Australia" Policy', in Carl Bridge and Bernard Attard (eds.), *Between Empire and Nation: Australia's External Relations from Federation to the Second World War*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne, 2000; E. Lester, *Making Migration Law: The Foreigner, Sovereignty, and the Case of Australia*, CUP, Cambridge, 2018; Eric Richards, *Destination Australia: migration to Australia since 1901*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2008; James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: the story of Australian immigration*, CUP, Cambridge, 2007; A. T. Yarwood, *Asian Migration to Australia: The Background to Exclusion 1896-1923*, CUP, Cambridge, 1964; Gwenda Tavan, *The long, slow death of white Australia*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2005; Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker and Jan Gothard (eds.), *Legacies of White Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Crawley, 2003.
- ^{clii} Kay Saunders and Roger Daniels, 'Ethnicity and Citizenship: The Contemporary Legacy', in Saunders and Daniels, *Alien Justice*, p.xii [i-xix].
- ^{cliii} 11 July 1915, p.6, quoted in Emily Robertson, 'Norman Lindsay and the 'Asianisation' of the German Soldier in Australia during the First World War', *The Round Table*, 103(2), 2014, 221-2 [211-231]. See also Beaumont, 'Australian Citizenship', 177. She states: 'Naturalised Australians... found that ethnicity was more important than any formal legal entitlement they had to citizenship.'
- ^{cliv} Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', *History Workshop Journal*, 5, 1978, 9-65.
- ^{clv} NAA: A1, 1921/16414: DEA Memorandum, Hunt, 2 November 1914, banned Turkish migrants. An identical Memorandum on 8 November 1915, p.61, stopped Bulgarian applications. See also Langfield, 'Recruiting immigrants'.
- ^{clvi} NAA: A1, 1916/8129, Christina Louise Marie Miatke: DEA Memorandum, 10 May 1916, p.3.
- ^{clvii} NAA: A1, 1916/1933, Mary Atta; A1, 1915/22972, Ellen Sing; A1, 1915/22818, Mary Ah Mee. This policy only changed when re-naturalisation cases were stopped for married women with living husbands in 1916.
- ^{clviii} NAA: A1, 1916/17733, Sophia Kruger, p.2. See also A1, 1915/20402, Rosa Lewald.
- ^{clix} NAA: A1, 1915/16937, Emily Ann Merkel. See his similar comments in A1, 1916/9177, Harriett Mary Kreitmayer: DEA Memorandum, 11 April 1916, p.4.

^{clx} NAA: A1, 1915/14143, Anna R. Rosina Stiller.

^{clxi} A small number of examples have been cited here; further examples are available on the Trove database, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/>, using the keyword search of ‘naturalisation’ or ‘naturalization’. Any mention of this in relation to women was rare, and normally only briefly to highlight the plight of denaturalised women.

^{clxii} The records offer considerable information about why women applied. The discussion here is short but will be further discussed in the upcoming book.

^{clxiii} See Ngaire Naffine, *Criminal Law and the Man Problem*, Hart Publishing, Oxford, 2019; Naffine, *Law and the Sexes: Explorations in Feminist Jurisprudence*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1990; Jackie Jones, Anna Grear, Rachel Anne Fenton, Kim Stevenson (eds.), *Gender, sexualities and law*, Routledge, London, 2011; Regina Graycar and Jenny Morgan, *The Hidden Gender of Law*, Federation Press, Sydney, 1990; Jan Ryan, “‘She Lives with a Chinaman’: Orient-ing “White” Women in the Courts of Law’, in Richard Nile (ed.), *War and Other Catastrophes*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1999, pp.149-59.

^{clxiv} NAA: A1, 1934/10232, 1105315, Clara Harriet Greenland: Hunt to her solicitors, Rawlinson & Hamilton, Sydney, 11 September 1916.

^{clxv} In addition to several of the articles in this special edition, see Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, Routledge, London, 1995; Bright, ‘A Great Deal of Discrimination’; Catherine Dewhirst, ‘Collaborating on whiteness: representing Italians in early White Australia’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 32:1, 2008, 33-49; B.W. Higman, ‘Testing the boundaries of white Australia: Domestic servants and immigration policy, 1901–45’, *Immigrants & Minorities*, 22:1, 2003, 1-21; Andonis Piperoglou, ‘Greeks or Turks, “White” or “Asiatic”’: Historicising Castellorizian Racial-Consciousness, 1916–1920’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 40:4, 2016, 387-402.

^{clxvi} Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport*. for instance, does not discuss gender at all. See Irving, *Citizenship*, esp. pp.30-47,

^{clxvii} Most notably in Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing*.